REMBRANDT
AND THE INSPIRATION OF INDIA

EDITED BY STEPHANIE SCHRADER,
WITH CONTRIBUTIONS BY CATHERINE GLYNN,
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The Global Aspirations of the Mughal Album

YAEL RICE

How a significant number of Mughal imperial paintings traveled to Amsterdam and later entered the temporary possession of Rembrandt has long been a matter of debate. The very fact of the paintings' transmission is, however, indisputable, as is the relative speed of their transfer from South Asia to the Netherlands. Some of these works may have been completed at the Mughal court only a decade prior. Although a number of Mughal paintings have been identified as kin to the Dutch artist's source materials, the larger implications for these visual correlations have not been fully recognized, which are that Rembrandt was clearly working with paintings that had been made for Mughal albums.

This essay asks how and why Mughal albums—codices (stitched books) containing collaged assemblages of paintings, drawings, calligraphies, and European prints—traveled as widely as they did, to the extent that one fell into the hands of one of the leading Dutch artists of the seventeenth century. It is critical to underscore that Mughal royals valued these albums highly, and they used them to communicate their political aspirations and worldly ambitions. But the Mughal album—which is known as a *muraqqa'*, meaning "patched"— adhered to an aesthetic and material logic that encouraged its own segmentation and dispersion; its cosmopolitan emphasis further ensured its widespread currency around the globe. Inherent to the very ontology of the album, in other words, is a tendency for its contents to fragment, congeal, and propagate.

The conceptual framework employed here reverses the standard paradigm: rather than viewing Rembrandt as the pioneer of a cross-cultural enterprise, he is seen as partaking in an ongoing process of exchange. Toward that end, this essay begins by considering the uneven transposition of artistic materials between Europe and South Asia during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. European prints and related media found a positive reception at the Mughal court, as court artists copied and adapted them for display in royal albums. Along with imperial portraits, Persian calligraphic specimens, manuscript paintings, and the other fragments collected in the royal album,

these materials articulated the dynastic and universalist claims of their patrons—that is, until the album fell prone to the very processes that drove its production, organization, and circulation, and it was reconstituted once again.

Transmissions, Translations, and Transmutations

Rembrandt was certainly not the first artist to have come into contact with Mughal artistic materials on European soil. An earlier episode in the global dissemination of Mughal paintings saw a portrait of Jahangir (r. 1605–27) peregrinate to London, where it, along with paintings of Prince Khurram (the future Shah Jahan, r. 1627–58) and a turban-garbed woman (identified in an inscription as "[Jahangir's] woman slave") were adapted by an unknown engraver for inclusion in Samuel Purchas's *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (London, 1625), a multivolume compendium of travelers' accounts (plate 25).[1] Here the artist even copied the Persian inscription—written in Jahangir's own hand—that had appeared on the original, perhaps to emphasize the artifactual, as opposed to fantastical, nature of the representation. The same Mughal portrait of Jahangir may have served as a model for a bust study produced by the English engraver Renold Elstrack during the decade preceding (plate 24).[2] The Purchas and Elstrack prints likely owe their existence to the English ambassador Sir Thomas Roe, who probably acquired the imperial paintings in question while he was in residence at the Mughal court between 1615 and 1619. There is otherwise little evidence for the circulation of Mughal paintings in Europe during the first quarter of the seventeenth century.[3] The increasing entrenchment of the Dutch East India Company and the English East India Company at various posts across the subcontinent during the 1640s–50s, however, saw opportunities for the westward flow of South Asian royal rarities multiply.[4] Like Rembrandt, the Dutch artist Willem Schellinks also came into contact with Mughal miniatures—or images done after Mughal miniatures—in Amsterdam around this time, and he produced a series of large-scale oil paintings inspired by them, several of which are extant.[5] The German Jesuit Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680), in a similar vein, published an illustration of Jahangir (identified in the text, nevertheless, as Akbar) in his *China Monumentis* (Amsterdam, 1667) (plate 26), which drew, however distantly, from a Mughal source.[6] By the end of the seventeenth century, paintings from the Mughal and Deccani courts were entering European collections with even greater frequency. Nicolaes Witsen, an aristocrat based in Amsterdam, reportedly owned 465 Indian works on paper, a small selection of which can be found in the eponymously named Witsenalbum.[7]

European prints and printed books, in stark contrast, circulated in great quantities in South Asia well before Elstrack or Rembrandt would ever lay their eyes on a Mughal image. The establishment of a Jesuit mission at Akbar's court in 1580 provided an official channel for the transmission of Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbus Terrarum* (1570), Jerome Nadal's heavily illustrated *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* (1595), and engraved series by Albrecht Dürer and Georg Pencz, among others, but there is reason to believe that Mughal patrons were in possession of European prints as early as the 1550s.[8] The residence of the English East India Company representative William Hawkins (d. 1613) at Jahangir's court from 1609 to 1611 and the subsequent embassy of Sir Thomas Roe provided additional avenues for the flow of European prints, paintings, and other visual media.

The paintings produced at the Mughal court during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries register a considered concern for the form, aesthetics, and iconography of European art.[9] A Mughal adaptation of works from *The Roman Series* (1586–88) by Hendrick Goltzius exemplifies this particular ethos (plate 60). The study, which has been attributed to the royal painter Keshav Das (active ca. 1570–ca. 1604/5), draws

FIGURE 40
Attributed to Miskina (Indian [Mughal], active ca. 1570–1604), *Buffaloes in Combat*, late sixteenth century. Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 17.5 × 24.1 cm (6⅞ × 9½ in.). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1983, 1983.258

heavily from the engraving *Titus Manlius Torquatus* (1586), in particular in its depiction of the figure's tightly rotated posture, sidelong glance, and martial costume (plate 61).[10] In his rendering of the figure with drawn, rather than sheathed, sword, however, Keshav Das seems to have looked to Goltzius's *Mucius Scaevola* (1586), from the same series, for inspiration (plate 62). The Mughal artist took other licenses by dispensing with the action-filled backgrounds that appear in the two engravings. Perhaps the most significant alteration to the compositions of the original engravings, however, is the addition of color. Where Goltzius utilized cross-hatching and other related techniques to produce subtle tonal effects, Keshav Das applied tints of yellow, blue, green, maroon, and flesh-toned opaque watercolor to achieve a comparably modeled appearance. Juxtaposing the two engravings with the painting clarifies that it was the dramatic sculpting and torque of the Roman soldiers' bodies that most interested the Mughal artist. Keshav Das seems to have been little concerned with slavish imitation and instead translated only select elements of the original engravings.

A similarly adaptive approach is evinced in a Mughal work done after a print by Jacques de Gheyn II (plates 58, 59). Here the unknown artist rendered the subject, a musketeer, in black ink with limited application of color washes and gold paint. The use of this palette served, on one hand, to approximate the engraving's graphic appearance. On the other hand, this exercise in material translation—from print to paint—also provided a means for the Mughal painter to insert the European image into an esteemed Persianate canon that had long valued black-pen (*siyah qalam*) drawings. Absent the layers of opaque watercolor paint, *siyah qalam* drawings took the artist's graphic delineations as their main focus. Sometimes, as a late sixteenth-century Mughal black-pen composition of a buffalo combat (fig. 40) shows, these monochromatic works were enhanced with color washes and gold. That similar enhancements appear in the study after De Gheyn's

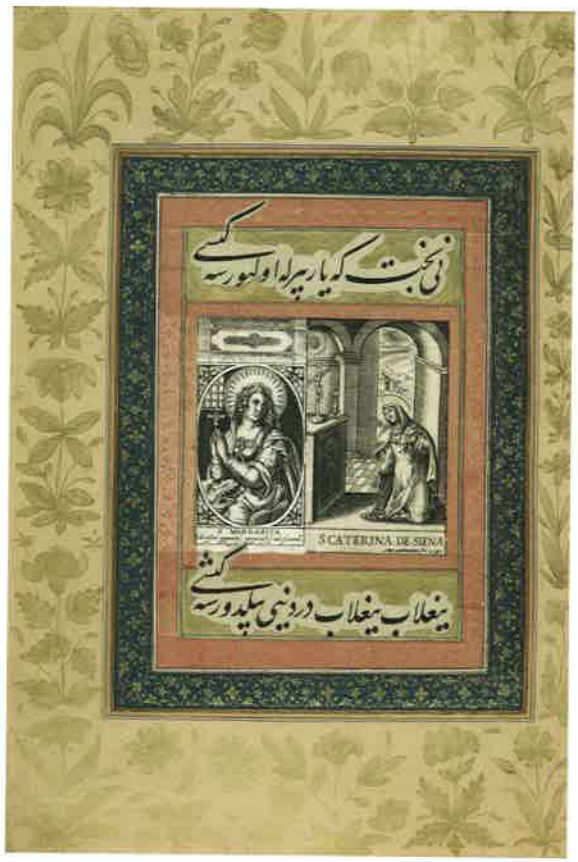

FIGURE 41

Antonio Caranzano (Italian, fl. 1577–1623), unknown European artist, and unknown calligrapher, page from the Dara Shikoh Album, *Saint Margaret and Saint Catherine of Siena with Chagatai Calligraphy*, 1585–early seventeenth century; album page assembled ca. 1630–33. Engravings, ink and gold on paper, page: 32 × 22 cm (12 9/16 × 8 5/8 in.). Margaret (left): 4.1 × 8.6 cm (1 5/8 × 3 3/8 in.); Catherine (right): 5.1 × 8.5 cm (2 × 3 3/8 in.). London, British Library, Add. Or. 3129, fol. 43

print reveals the extent to which Mughal court artists localized European images by incorporating them into their own visual lexicon.

The pairing of European engravings with Mughal calligraphies served comparable ends, as the black lines of the monochromatic print offered a formalistic foil to the sweeping strokes of the calligrapher's brush. The correspondences between these two different media are illustrated on a page from the Dara Shikoh Album (assembled ca. 1630–33) (fig. 41), where European engravings of Saints Margaret and Catherine of Siena are paired with a fragment of elegantly copied poetry in Chagatai, a Turkic language that was spoken by members of the Mughal family.[11] The physical juxtaposition of calligraphy and print emphasizes their shared linear basis; a segment of the Chagatai poetry in the lower register of the page even overlays the inscriptions in the print on the left as if to suggest that the calligraphy was merging with the European paper support. But the kinship is also established through the very fact of the pairing of the two graphic arts on a page reserved for calligraphy. Bearing in mind that the pages of the Dara Shikoh Album, like many other seventeenth-century Mughal albums, alternate between facing pages of paintings and facing pages of calligraphies, the appearance of the engravings here suggests that the Mughal compiler of the album understood the European line-based materials to be more comparable to beautiful writing than not.[12] It is through these exercises in formalistic identification that Mughal artists and their patrons came to reconcile European images.

Mughal paintings executed on top of European prints represent perhaps the most curious instances of this assimilating program. Around 1620, for example, the court artist Abu'l Hasan (active 1600–1630) applied opaque watercolor to a copy of

Jan Sadeler's *Dialectica*, from *The Seven Liberal Arts*, and in doing so effectively treated the engraving as cognate to the monochromatic designs that lie underneath the majority of Mughal paintings (figs. 42, 43).[13] It is important to understand that the process for illustrating Mughal manuscripts was often bifurcated, with the tasks of designing and coloring assigned to two different artists. The two-step, collaborative process began with the designer's execution of a foundational drawing (*tarh*) in black, gray, or brown ink. Once completed, the monochromatic *tarh* passed to the colorist to be "filled in."[14] The additions of the colorist, in other words, were applied on top of (and thus

FIGURE 42

Abu'l Hasan (Indian [Mughal], active 1600–1630), page from the St. Petersburg Album, *Painting Overlaying Dialectica Engraving by Jan Sadeler*, ca. 1615. Ink and opaque watercolor on paper, painting: 14.5 × 16.3 cm (5 11/16 × 6 7/16 in.). St. Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Studies, E-14, fol. 46. Detail showing lower register of the album page (see fig. 46)

FIGURE 43

Jan Sadeler (Dutch, 1550–1600/1), after Maarten de Vos (Dutch, 1532–1603), *Dialectica*, from *The Seven Liberal Arts*, after 1575. Engraving, 14.6 × 10.8 cm (5¾ × 4¼ in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whitney Collection, The Elisha Whitney Fund, 1949, 49.95.1494

covered) the designer's hand, though the *tarh*'s contours and configurations would nevertheless remain visible. Abu'l Hasan's application of colors to the surface of Jan Sadeler's engraving can thus be seen to echo the very same workshop protocol used for the illustration of Mughal manuscripts. The Mughal painter not only embellished the engraving's *tarh* with color, however; he also expanded the dimensions of the composition and further altered Sadeler's print by replacing the architectural setting with a pastoral scene. As a result, the column that appears behind Dialectica in the original print was, in Abu'l Hasan's overlaid rendition, transformed into a twisted tree trunk, and the two frogs located in the lower right-hand quadrant of the print were replaced by mammals. Gauvin Bailey has suggested that these, among other alterations, were made in order to reconcile the engraving with the particular dimensions of the codex's visual surface and to ally the image with another painted engraving, also completed by Abu'l Hasan, which appears on the facing page.[15] With these amendments the Mughal court painter also demonstrated his artistic prowess by copying, but also improving upon, other artists' work. This imitative-innovative paradigm, which held equally to visual and poetic compositions, was operative at a number of royal courts across the Persian-speaking world.[16] Abu'l Hasan's emulation and modification of Sadeler's engraving thus signals

DE VALOIS, FILS DE FRAN
I. DAVPHIN DE FRANC
L'ennemy enuieux du bon heur et victoire
De ce Prince, ou la France auoit tout son espoir
Veu tant d'actes guerriers, que, ieune, il luy fit voir,
Luy osta par poyson mille trophez de gloire,
Tho. de leu Fe. et ex.

FIGURE 44

Thomas de Leu (French, 1560–1620), *Portrait of François of Valois, Son of François I and Dauphin of France*, 1570–1612. Engraving, 15.3 × 9.5 cm (6 × 3¾ in.). London, The British Museum, 1922,0612.11

the extent to which Mughal courtly agents deemed European prints and other images to be adaptable to a Persianate aesthetic logic.

Printed depictions of European royals were also subjected to these transmuting operations. In this case, the object in question is an engraved portrait of François of Valois (1518–1536) that Thomas de Leu (1560–1620) had produced decades after the dauphin's premature death (fig. 44).[17] At some point after its arrival at the Mughal court, probably around the early seventeenth century, the portrait was attached to a large mount (plate 57). Among other alterations, the Mughal artist painted clouds and cherubs in the upper register of the newly expanded composition, and to the lower register added a rearing lion and a recumbent lamb. The effect of these enhancements was to affiliate the image of the young French prince with portraits of Jahangir and Shah Jahan that bear the very same iconography (e.g., plate 2). In the context of Mughal imperial portraiture, the cherubs communicated the semidivine origins of the emperors' lineage, which they traced to Alanqoa, a Mongol princess who was said to have been impregnated by a shaft of light.[18] By adding the cherubs to the de Leu engraving, the Mughal artist may have meant to suggest some degree of equivalence between the world-ruling dynasty and that of the Capetians. It is something of an irony that Mughal artists actually adapted the image of the cherub from European art; with its introduction to a French print, the cherub had, in effect, come full circle.[19]

Seeking to extend the comparison between Mughal and European royalty further, the artist also reconstructed the French prince's forehead, nose, jawline, and chin to ally his physiognomy with that of the Mughal family. The attempt to forge a clear

visual correspondence between the two lines of royals was even carried into the gold illumination of the engraving's French inscriptions, which echoes a style of decoration commonly seen in the adornment of Persian calligraphic specimens. The painter nevertheless signaled the subject's foreign status by lengthening, curling, and gilding the dauphin's hair and leaving his French costume mostly unchanged, perhaps to ensure that the viewer would not take the visual analogy too far.

The painted portrait of François of Valois resonates with an incident that transpired in 1616 and that Sir Thomas Roe recorded in his account of his ambassadorship at the Mughal court. Roe, upon presenting the emperor Jahangir with a picture—an English miniature portrait on vellum, most likely—declared, in full confidence, that "noe man in India could equall yt."[20] Jahangir, in response, proposed a wager: a court painter would make six copies of the English picture, from which Roe had to identify the original among the reproductions; if he failed to do so, Roe would be expected to pay a reward to the artist. Roe, in fact, mistook a copy for the original and so was obliged to confer a gift upon the painter. Jahangir also pressed Roe to take one of the Mughal renditions to England so as to prove that "wee are not soe vnskillful as you esteeme vs."[21] This episode, however apocryphal it may be, underscores the outsize role that image making—and portraiture in particular—played in diplomatic exchanges between the English crown's representatives and other world powers, a point that the Purchas and Elstrack images done after Mughal paintings likely acquired by Roe also make. Roe's account of these artistic transactions at Jahangir's court, according to Nandini Das, illuminates the precarious imbrications of early modern cross-cultural encounters, which could yield imitative and assimilative responses that imperil one's own identity.[22] The Mughal artist's adaptation of the de Leu engraving could function, in this sense, as a kind of visual analogue to Roe's text, where it is the image of the European royal who instead encroaches upon the Mughal self.[23] The artistic competition that Roe recounts, wherein an imperial artist is called upon to replicate the English miniature so faithfully as to fool the English ambassador's eye, also registers a Mughal, and more broadly Islamicate, preoccupation with the deceptive nature of representational, and especially illusionistic, images.[24] By merging so completely with its European support, the Mughal artist's additions to the de Leu print—and for that matter, Abu'l Hasan's embellishments of the Sadeler engraving—could be seen to engage precisely these debates about the shortcomings of visual experience. The capacity for either work to engender visual confusion over its authorship, origins, or the particularities of its production was, in this way, integral to its status as a courtly object.

As this brief survey of Mughal paintings done after and on top of engravings shows, the Mughal emperors' court artists assiduously copied, adapted, and transmuted European prints, and in doing so accommodated them to their own aesthetic and intellectual practices. The prints' generally monochromatic appearance and occasional use of the profile portrait provided an entrée for Mughal painters, who were accustomed to working with single-tone drawings and calligraphy and were already invested in producing royal portraiture. The European print would have furthermore resonated with a deep-seated concern for the human optical apparatus's incapacity to distinguish illusion and with a long-standing Islamicate perception of *firangi* (Frankish) and *rumi* (Greek) art as bewitching in nature.[25] The appropriation of European art thus also provided a means for the Mughal painter to rank his own work alongside the legendary "magic-making [*sahir-pardazi*] of the Frankish people [*ahl-i firang*]," as Abu'l Fazl, an important ideologue active at Akbar's court, characterized the art and artists of Europe.[26]

The treatment of the Thomas de Leu engraving also points, however, to a deeper ideological dimension of this enterprise: Mughal modifications to European images

served to bring not only European art but also European royalty into the Mughal fold. Let us not forget that the names that Princes Salim and Khurram assumed upon their accessions to the throne—Jahangir ("World-Seizer") and Shah Jahan ("King of the World")—expressed comparably universalist ambitions. Bearing this point in mind, we should be careful not to treat the Mughal engagement with European images as an isolated expression of worldly pretensions. The global objectives of this intercultural project, rather, also inhered in the albums in which many engravings were housed and for which the court artists' European-style paintings were made.

The Reconstitutive Codex

Like the assimilating processes discussed above, the Mughal album combined locally produced and imported materials to create a new—if also precarious—whole. Among these materials can be found European prints, Persian and Chagatai calligraphies, and paintings and drawings from the Mughal, Safavid, Shaybanid, and Deccani courts. Most Mughal album pages were compiled in codices, the standard format of manuscripts produced in the Islamic world (fig. 45). But unlike books of history or poetry, the Mughal album is a veritable material agglomeration, and the album page is, in effect, a collage. The album page on which the Sadeler engraving appears, for example, is comprised of multiple supports: the two panels of paper that bear the paintings in the upper and

FIGURE 45

Mughal-style album of seventeenth–eighteenth-century paintings and calligraphies, probably assembled in the eighteenth century in India by or for a European patron. Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper with leather binding, page: 29 × 20.6 cm (11 7/16 × 8 1/8 in.). Private collection (photograph courtesy of Sotheby's)

lower registers, and the thicker, foundational mount (fig. 46). Additional strips of paper were added to create the marginal frames. The Dara Shikoh Album page also combines a number of supports: the two pieces of paper on which the engravings were printed, the Chagatai-inscribed panels, the thicker board on which these components were mounted, and the multicolored rulings that mask these various conjunctions (see fig. 41).

The overwhelming majority of Mughal albums have been unbound and disseminated widely, so it is not at all unusual to find folios from a given album residing in multiple, far-flung collections. It is also common to find that some albums contain (or recombine) the contents of earlier, no longer intact albums. Scholars have long attributed

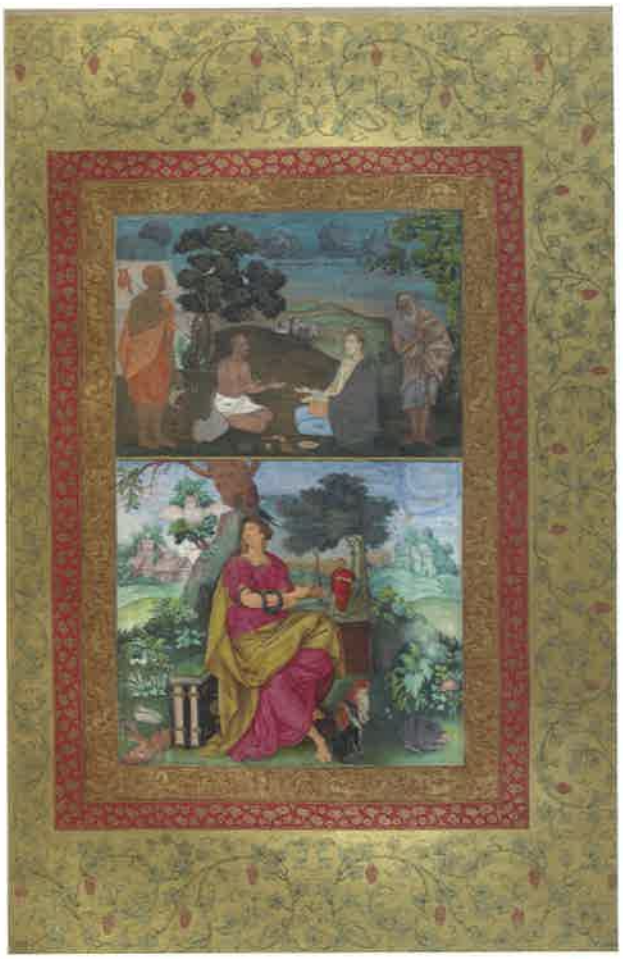

FIGURE 46

Govardhan (Indian [Mughal], active 1596–ca. 1645), Nanha (Indian [Mughal], active ca. 1580–1627), Payag (Indian [Mughal], active ca. 1591–1658),and Abu'l Hasan (Indian [Mughal], active 1600–1630), page from the St. Petersburg Album with composite paintings, ca. 1615–30; borders added in mid-eighteenth century. Ink and opaque watercolor on paper, page: 47.5 × 33 cm (18 11/16 × 13 in.). St. Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Studies, E-14, fol. 46

the dispersal and subsequent reconfiguration of Mughal albums to the vicissitudes of European colonial expansion and the political decline of the Mughal Empire during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but these processes seem to have already been under way many years prior. To take one example, the so-called Gulshan Album, which contains paintings, engravings, and calligraphies dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was once associated exclusively with Jahangir's patronage between ca. 1599 and 1618 but is now thought to have been augmented under Shah Jahan's purview.[27] Further complicating the album's history, its folios were transported to Iran in the eighteenth century and, according to some scholars, originally constituted not one volume but two.[28] The folios from this amalgamated codex have been dispersed to multiple collections worldwide: the Golestan Palace Library in Tehran houses as many as 140 folios, while the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin holds twenty-five folios, which the German Egyptologist Karl Heinrich Brugsch had purchased in Persia around the 1860s; other folios are held in the collections of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Dublin's Chester Beatty Library, and the San Diego Museum of Art, among other institutions. The covers of a volume of the Gulshan Album today reside in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, DC. Given the dispersed state of this important codex (or codices), it is no wonder that an international project to unite the album's folios, inaugurated seventeen years ago, is still ongoing.[29]

The fragmentary Shah Jahan Album presents another troubling case: although it contains paintings dating from the first decade of the seventeenth century, thus indicating some ostensible point of origin at Jahangir's court, the majority of its contents date

from Shah Jahan's reign, and it also bears early nineteenth-century paintings in a late Mughal style.[30] Exacerbating the already apparently hybrid states of the album is the disparate appearance of its folio borders. Operating under the assumption that a Mughal album would have had matching borders, scholars have estimated that the many non-matching seventeenth-century borders in the Shah Jahan Album—and in the related and contemporaneous Minto and Wantage Albums—were drawn from eight or more separate volumes, according to Linda York Leach, while Marie Lukens Swietochowski hypothesized that the three albums' folios originally came from as many as twenty-four discrete albums.[31] These calculations not only indicate the very large number of albums that were produced at the Mughal court in the seventeenth century, but they also point to the propensity for albums to become dispersed and reconstituted. By the time that Rembrandt came into contact with Mughal album pages in Amsterdam, the processes of diffusion were already well under way.

The contents of Mughal albums also hew to an atomistic sensibility. While the calligraphic specimens in the Gulshan Album draw from a limited corpus, the images vary widely in terms of date, authorship, style, and origin. This heterogeneity registered the perceived commensurability of the albums' contents. Note, for example, that paintings from the large body of early to mid-sixteenth-century northern Indian manuscripts seldom, if ever, appear in these aggregative codices.[32] Mughal renditions of paintings associated with the contemporaneous Safavid court of Shah Tahmasp (r. 1524–76), in contrast, found pride of place here, as did Netherlandish engravings and paintings from the Shaybanid and Deccani courts. The selection of certain materials—Persianate and European or European-style works—over others, speaks to the specifically Islamicate and global, cosmopolitan spheres in which Mughal agents (i.e., patrons, grandees, and artists) understood themselves to operate.[33]

The juxtaposition of these disparate materials in the royal album invited the viewer to recognize stylistic, compositional, material, and temporal differences and similarities.[34] A single page from the Gulshan Album shows a horse and groom pair, Shiva with his bull vehicle Nandi and a Hindu devotee, and a blond man standing in a classicizing pose (fig. 47). The inclusion of mountains, river, tree, horizon, and sky—probably added when the page was being prepared for insertion in the album—unifies the three figural clusters, but with further examination, differences in scale, style, and subject matter become more readily apparent. These are, of course, three separate paintings that have been joined together: the horse and groom were executed in a style reminiscent of Safavid painting at the Mughal court in the mid-sixteenth century, or possibly later, while the European figure and the Shaivite scene almost certainly date to the early seventeenth century. It is nearly impossible to know if the horse and groom were culled from an earlier album; here, in any case, they have been pictorially integrated with paintings of more recent date, as if to suggest a direct and harmonious trajectory from the paintings of the sixteenth century to those of the reign of Jahangir, and from the reign of Akbar to that of his son. The fusing of the painting in the lower register—a standard Persianate theme—with much more recent additions to the Mughal artistic repertoire to create a new work also parallels a contemporaneous taste for "fresh-speaking" (*taza-gu'i*) poetry.[35] The album page's appearance of seamless, novel conjunction, however, fragments upon closer inspection, as the edges of each painting's support become more plainly visible.

The combination of materials often served to anchor the album to its patron and his court, thus making the codex an intimate index of royal events and social relations. A page from the Gulshan Album that bears four discrete portraits of male elites, three of whom are identified by contemporaneous inscriptions, exemplifies some of these

FIGURE 47

Unknown Indian (Mughal) artists, page from the Gulshan Album, *Composite Painting of Horse and Groom, European Man, and Shiva with Devotee*, ca. 1570–early seventeenth century; album page assembled before 1618. Opaque watercolor on paper, page: 40.8 × 25.2 cm (16 1/16 × 9 15/16 in.). Tehran, Golestan Palace, Manuscript Library, Ms. 1663, page 150

functions (plate 45).[36] Collaged to create a 2 × 2 grid, each figure on the page forms a pair with the man opposite him. The suggestion of communion is belied, however, by the incongruent scale of each portrait: the image of the important minister and general 'Abd al-Rahim Khan-i Khanan (1556–1627) at top left, for example, is dwarfed by the unidentified seated figure at right. Similarly, the portrait of Jassa, the Jam Saheb (ruling prince) of Nawanagar, in the lower right quadrant towers above the image of Rao Bhara, a *zamindar* (landowner) from Kutch, who appears at lower left.[37] The portraits' differently colored backgrounds and the ascriptions to three different artists—Manohar (active 1582–ca. 1624) (upper left), Govardhan (active 1596–ca. 1645) (lower left), and Nadir al-Zaman ("Rarity of the Age"), an honorific title associated with Abu'l Hasan (lower right)—further disrupt any illusion of compositional harmony.[38] Yet there is a clear logic to the grouping. Rao Bhara and Jassa Jam were wealthy Gujarati elites who shared a clan affiliation. The inscription on the portrait of 'Abd al-Rahim, meanwhile, indicates that Manohar executed the work in the thirteenth year (i.e., 1617–18) after Jahangir's accession, when the emperor was in residence in Ahmedabad, Gujarat. The fourth, unidentified portrait probably had some connection with the Mughal court in Gujarat at this time, too.[39] For the emperor, the Gulshan Album page would have resonated as a personal and very specific social record of royal life.

This analytical optic lent the album its intimate character: through juxtaposition and collage, the album illuminated its owner's filial and other ties, artistic knowledge, aesthetic judgment, dynastic aims, and, of course, cosmopolitan ambitions. But the same

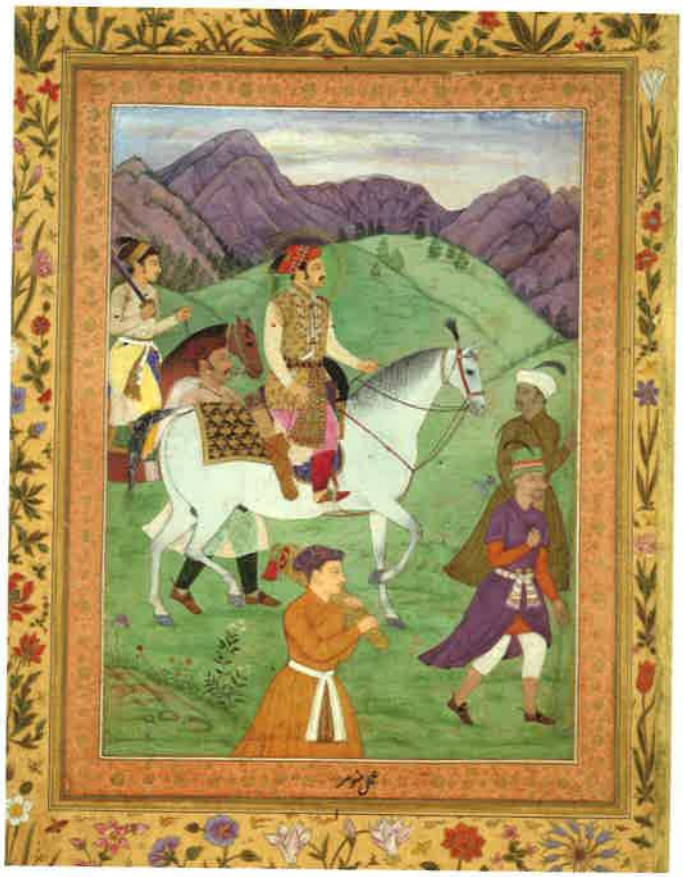

FIGURE 48

Manohar (Indian [Mughal], active 1582–ca. 1624) and Murar (Indian [Mughal], active ca. 1620–ca. 1645), page from the Minto Album, *Portrait of Shah Jahan on Horseback*, ca. 1615 and ca. 1630; album page assembled before ca. 1640. Opaque watercolor on paper, page: 38.8 × 26.6 cm (15 5/16 × 10 1/2 in.), painting: 23.6 × 16.8 cm (9 5/16 × 6 5/8 in.). London, Victoria & Albert Museum, IM.12-1925

FIGURE 49

Manohar and Murar, *Portrait of Shah Jahan on Horseback* (detail, fig. 48)

ethos also made the album (and the album's many fragmentary units) prone to virtual and physical dissolution, as well as regeneration. Outside of the particular social and political framework of its owner, the album could fail to make meaning, in which case, the album's contents could be rearranged or otherwise altered toward new ends.

In some cases the processes of reconfiguration extended to the very surface of the album page itself. An equestrian portrait in the mid-seventeenth-century Minto Album, for example, originally depicted Jahangir as the central figure on horseback, but under the succeeding emperor's direction, the artist Murar replaced Jahangir's face with that of his son Shah Jahan; the other figure on horseback was also given a new identity (figs. 48, 49).[40] Paintings, pages, and whole albums were reconstituted in this way to better match the aspirations of their new owners.

The addition of inscriptions to album pages could serve a similar purpose. The Shah Jahan Album's portrait of the courtier Bhim Kunwar dates from Jahangir's reign and bears an imperial inscription that identifies the subject as the son of the Rajput ruler Amar Singh of Mewar (fig. 50).[41] Sometime later, however, another inscription was added, probably in Shah Jahan's own hand. This text also identifies the subject but

FIGURE 50

Nanha (Indian [Mughal], active ca. 1580–1627), page from the Shah Jahan Album, *Portrait of Bhim Kunwar*, ca. 1615–29; album page assembled ca. 1630–58. Opaque watercolor and ink on paper, page: 38.7 × 25.6 cm (15¼ × 10⅛ in.); painting: 16.4 × 9.7 cm (6⅜ × 3¹³⁄₁₆ in.) New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund and the Kevorkian Foundation Gift, 1955, 55.121.10.2

FIGURE 51

Hunhar (Indian [Mughal], active ca. 1628–60s), page from the Late Shah Jahan Album, *Portrait of Bhim Kunwar*, ca. 1650; album page assembled ca. 1650–58. Opaque watercolor and ink on paper, page: 37.9 × 24.7 cm (14¹⁵⁄₁₆ × 9¾ in.), painting: 21.3 × 14 cm (8⅜ × 5½ in.). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 60.172

includes the additional statement that the courtier was among the "best servants during the days of our [that is, Shah Jahan's] princehood."[42] The inscription thus recontextualizes a portrait made for and inscribed by Jahangir within Shah Jahan's own biography. By reusing paintings and album folios made for Jahangir, Shah Jahan's artists further promoted the fiction of seamless transition from one reign to the next and emphasized their patron's issue from an esteemed dynastic lineage.

Albums and their contents were also regenerated through the practices of copying. We have already seen this evidenced in the case of the Shah Jahan Album, to which nineteenth-century copies of seventeenth-century paintings were added, perhaps at the behest of the Mughal Emperor Akbar II (r. 1806–37) or another patron. But copies of album paintings were also made during Shah Jahan's reign, and in great number. Portraits, in particular, proliferated—as in the case of a copy of the portrait of Bhim Kunwar in the Shah Jahan Album, which appears in the (unsurprisingly, dispersed) Late Shah Jahan Album (assembled ca. 1650–58) (fig. 51).[43] The identifying inscription in the later portrait even mimics the earlier Shah Jahan Album folio's inscription in Jahangir's

hand (see fig. 50). Such copies may have been intended to accommodate the increasing number of albums that were being produced at the Mughal court during Shah Jahan's reign. Just how many albums were created during the seventeenth century is difficult to say, but if Leach's and Swietochowski's calculations with regards to the Minto, Shah Jahan, and Wantage Albums' borders are correct, it was a great number indeed.

Many of the Shah Jahan–period albums likely migrated to the Deccan and elsewhere as gifts in the seventeenth century, while others were later collected and reconstituted at the courts of the nawabs of Awadh and Bengal.[44] Artists in Golconda, the capital of the Qutb Shahi Sultanate until 1687, accelerated their own production of albums, often incorporating Mughal paintings or modeling their own works—mainly portraits—after Mughal exemplars. The British, Dutch, and French presence in India during the seventeenth century further facilitated the transmission of Mughal artistic materials, including albums, to Europe.

The Ends of Albums

The widespread dispersal of Mughal albums has long vexed art historians, whose aim it has been to reassemble these fragmentary codices. Complicating this task is the fact that many of these fragmentary books had already been taken apart, altered, augmented, and then reconstituted in the seventeenth century and earlier. These processes, however, were not so much incidental as integral and inherent to the Mughal album's very function. The capacity for an album to regenerate and recirculate was driven, in part, by its patchwork aesthetic and comparative logic, which invited the viewer to virtually—if not physically—disassemble the pages' complex arrangements. The album's propagation was also impelled by its cosmopolitan conceits: the inclusion of engravings, European-style paintings, and imitations of Safavid works was part of a project to give the Mughal emperor equal, or higher, standing on the global stage. Finally, because of its intimate nature, an album could fail to make sense outside of a small group of individuals, in which case a later patron might elect to rearrange, repaint, or re-inscribe the album's contents to fit his or her own social, political, and dynastic aims.

Whether Rembrandt encountered Mughal album paintings as loose leaves or within the framework of a codex is unknown, but given the album's cosmopolitan ambitions and its increased production and circulation across northern India and the Deccan during the seventeenth century, and the heightened European presence in South Asia at this time, it is actually not surprising that one of the leading artist-entrepreneurs in Amsterdam should have come into contact with these materials. And it is only fitting that one of the Mughal album paintings Rembrandt had studied sometime later migrated to Vienna, where, in the eighteenth century, it was pasted to one of the walls of the Millionenzimmer in the Schloss Schönbrunn, and a European painter's loose adaptation of it added to a panel nearby (plate 30 and fig. 8 in Schrader essay).[45] As much as Rembrandt may be touted as *the* cosmopolitan artist par excellence, the Mughal album, in terms of miles traveled, had a far greater geographical reach. Its global aspirations had indeed been fulfilled.

NOTES

1 — This section of Purchas's text was adapted from a travel account penned by Edward Terry, a chaplain who had accompanied Sir Thomas Roe on his embassy to Jahangir's court. On the Mughal components of Purchas's text, see Ania Loomba, "Of Gifts, Ambassadors, and Copy-cats: Diplomacy, Exchange, and Difference in Early Modern India," in *Emissaries in Early Modern Literature and Culture: Mediation, Transmission, Traffic, 1550–1700*, ed. Brinda Charry and Gitanjali Shahani (Farnham, U.K., and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 39–75; Nandini Das, "'Apes of Imitation': Imitation and Identity in Sir Thomas Roe's Embassy to India," in *A Companion to the Global Renaissance: English Literature and Culture in the Era of Expansion*,

ed. Jyotsna G. Singh (Chichester, U.K., and Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell Publishers, 2009), 114–28. On the engraving of Jahangir, Prince Khurram, and the "slave girl," see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "A Roomful of Mirrors: The Artful Embrace of Mughals and Franks, 1550–1700," *Ars Orientalis* 39 (2010): 68.

2 — The Elstrack engraving is discussed in brief in Subrahmanyam, "Roomful of Mirrors," 68, fig. 10.

3 — One tantalizing piece of evidence is the illustrated title page in Joannes de Laet's *De Imperio Magni Mogolis* (Leiden, 1631), which evinces some familiarity with Mughal costume (see fig. 5 in Schrader essay).

4 — See Corinna Forberg, "What Does the Emperor of India Look Like? European Representations of Indian Rulers (1650–1740)," in *The Indian Ocean in the Making of Early Modern India*, ed. Pius Malekanddathil (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017), 213–48.

5 — For the three Schellinks paintings in question, along with relevant bibliography, see Subrahmanyam, "Roomful of Mirrors," 60–68, figs. 3, 4, 9 (see also fig. 24 in Glynn essay).

6 — To complete the project, Athanasius Kircher reportedly consulted his own collection of Eastern objects, some of which Jesuits had brought to Rome from India. See Forberg, "What Does the Emperor of India Look Like?," 227.

7 — Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-T-00-3186. See Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Het Witsenalbum: Zeventiende-eeuwse Indiase portretten op bestelling," *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 44, no. 3 (1996): 167–254.

8 — For an abbreviated list of European printed books that circulated at the court of Emperor Akbar following the establishment of the first Jesuit mission in 1580, see Gauvin Alexander Bailey, "*The Truth-Showing Mirror:* Jesuit Catechism and the Arts in Mughal India," in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773*, ed. John W. O'Malley, SJ, et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 385–86. Evidence of the earlier arrival of engravings at the Mughal court can be found in a section of Bayazid Bayat's *Tarikh-i Humayun* (History of Humayun) dealing with the period of the 1550s, in which the author refers to European "black-pen" works, possibly meaning prints. See Bayazid Bayat, *Tārīkh-i Humāyūn*, in *Three Memoirs of Humayun's Reign*, ed. and trans. Wheeler M. Thackston (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2009), 2:28 (Persian, p. 39).

9 — Scholarship on the Mughal artistic reception of European images—prints in particular—is copious. See, for example, Richard Ettinghausen, "The Emperor's Choice," in *De artibus opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. Millard Meiss, 2 vols. (New York: New York University Press, 1961), 1:98–120; Milo Cleveland Beach, "The Gulshan Album and Its European Sources," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* 63, no. 332 (1965): 63–91; Robert Skelton, "Imperial Symbolism in Mughal Painting," in *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World*, ed. Priscilla P. Soucek (University Park, PA: Published for the College Art Association of America by the Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988), 177–91; Ebba Koch, "The Influence of the Jesuit Mission on Symbolic Representations of the Mughal Emperors," in *Islam in India: Studies and Commentaries, I*, ed. C.W. Troll (New Delhi: Vikas, 1982), 14–29; Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *The Jesuits and the Grand Mogul: Renaissance Art at the Court of India, 1580–1630* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1998); Susan Stronge, *Painting for the Mughal Emperor: The Art of the Book, 1560–1660* (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 2002). More recent studies include Gregory Minissale, *Images of Thought: Visuality in Islamic India, 1550–1750* (Newcastle, U.K.: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2006); J. P. Losty and Malini Roy, *Mughal India: Art, Culture and Empire* (London: British Library, 2012), especially 78–79; Valerie Gonzalez, *Aesthetic Hybridity in Mughal Painting, 1526–1658* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015); Yael Rice, "Lines of Perception: European Prints and the Mughal *Kitābkhāna*," in *Prints in Translation, 1450–1750: Image, Materiality, Space*, ed. Suzanne Karr Schmidt and Edward Wouk (London: Routledge, 2016), 203–24; Kavita Singh, *Real Birds in Imagined Gardens: Mughal Painting between Persia and Europe* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2017).

10 — On Keshav Das, who is known for his Europeanizing studies, see Amina Okada, "Kesu Das: The Impact of Western Art on Mughal Painting," in *Mughal Masters: Further Studies*, ed. Asok Kumar Das (Mumbai: Marg Publications, 1998), 84–95; Amina Okada, "Keshav Das," in *Masters of Indian Painting*, vol. 1, *1100–1650*, ed. Milo C. Beach, Eberhard Fischer, and B. N. Goswamy (Zurich: Artibus Asiae, 2011), 153–66.

11 — The lines of poetry read: "How lucky is somebody who sits with his beloved, who weeps and makes his pain known!" (trans. Wheeler Thackston, e-mail, August 23, 2014). On the Dara Shikoh Album—named for its putative patron, who was also one of the sons of Shah Jahan—see Losty and Roy, *Mughal India*, 124–37.

12 — The preceding and succeeding Dara Shikoh Album openings (fols. 41v–42 and 43v–44, respectively) bear paintings. On the binary nature of the Mughal album, see Yael Rice, "The Brush and the Burin: Mogul Encounters with European Engravings," in *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration, and Convergence; The Proceedings of the 32nd International Congress of the History of Art*, ed. Jaynie Anderson (Carlton, Victoria, Australia: Miegunyah Press–Melbourne University Press, 2009), 305–10.

13 — For Abu'l Hasan, see Jeremiah Losty, "Abul Hasan," in *Master Artists of the Imperial Mughal Court*, ed. Pratapaditya Pal (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1991), 69–86; Milo C. Beach, "Aqa Riza and Abu'l Hasan," in *Masters of Indian Painting*, ed. Beach, Fischer, and Goswamy, 211–30.

14 — For extended discussions of this process, see John Seyller, "Painting Workshops in Mughal India," in *Karkhana: A Contemporary Collaboration*, ed. Hammad Nasar and Anita Dawood-Nasar (Ridgefield, CT: Aldrich Museum of Contemporary Art and Green Cardamom, 2005), 12–17; Rice, "Lines of Perception."

15 — Gauvin Alexander Bailey, in Francesca von Habsburg et al., *The St. Petersburg Muraqqa': Album of Indian and Persian Miniatures from the 16th through the 18th Century and Specimens of Persian Calligraphy by 'Imād al-Ḥasanī*, 2 vols. (Milan: Leonardo Arte, 1996), 1:71–72.

16 — On the practices of copying in Persianate painting and poetry, see Adel T. Adamova, "Repetition of Compositions in Manuscripts: The *Khamsa* of Nizami in Leningrad," in *Timurid Art and Culture: Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Lisa Golombek and Maria Subtelny (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), 67–75; Paul E. Losensky, *Welcoming Fighānī: Imitation and Poetic Individuality in the Safavid-Mughal Ghazal* (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 1998); David J. Roxburgh, "Kamal al-Din Bihzad and Authorship in Persianate Painting," *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): 119–46.

17 — On the transmission of European ruler portraits, including the de Leu engraving of François of Valois, to the Mughal court, see Jeremiah Losty, "The Carpet at the Window: A European Motif in the Mughal *Jharokha* Portrait," in *Indian Painting: Themes, History and Interpretations; Essays in Honour of B. N. Goswamy*, ed. Mahesh Sharma and Padma Kaimal (Ahmedabad: Mapin Publishing, 2013), 52–64.

18 — On the place of Alanqoa in Mughal genealogy, see Abu'l Fazl, *The Akbar Nama*, trans. Henry Beveridge, 3 vols. (Calcutta: Bibliotheca India, 1869–1902; repr., Delhi: Rare Books, 1972), 1:37–39, 178–83; John F. Richards, *The Mughal Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 46–47; Catherine Asher, "A Ray from the Sun: Mughal Ideology and the Visual Construction of the Divine," in *The Presence of Light: Divine Radiance and Religious Experience*, ed. Matthew T. Kapstein (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 170.

19 — The appearance of angels in art from the Islamic world long predates the establishment of the Mughal Empire. Artists at the court of Jahangir elected, nevertheless, to adapt the Renaissance *putto*, an import from Europe, for use in imperial portraits like this one. On the Mughal adaptation of European images of angels, see Ebba Koch, "Solomonic Angels in a Mughal Sky: The Wall Paintings of the Kala Burj at the Lahore Fort Revisited and Their Reception in Later South Asian and Qajar Art," in *Spirits in Transcultural Skies: Auspicious and Protective Spirits in Artefacts and Architecture between East and West*, ed. Neils Gutschow and Katharina Weiler (Cham, Switzerland: Springer International, 2015), 151–71.

20 — Thomas Roe, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India, 1615–19*, ed. William Foster, 2 vols. (London: Printed for the Hakylut Society, 1899), 1:224–25.

21 — Ibid., 1:226.

22 — Das, "Apes of Imitation."

23 — The matter is further complicated by the fact that Jahangir's artists likely drew upon European images in their renovation of the Mughal portrait, from three-quarter to side profile view, during the early seventeenth century. To invoke the title of Subrahmanyam's article (see note 1), the "artful embrace of Mughals and Franks" was indeed like "a roomful of mirrors."

24 — See Priscilla Soucek, "Nizami on Painters and Painting," in *Islamic Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, ed. Richard Ettinghausen (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1972), 9–21. I here use the term "Islamicate," as coined by the historian Marshall G. S. Hodgson (*The Venture of Islam*, 3 vols. [Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1974], 1:57–60), to refer to those regions where Muslims are (or were) culturally dominant.

25 — See Rice, "Lines of Perception," 217.

26 — Abu'l Fazl, *A'in-i Akbari*, ed. Henry Blochmann, 2 vols. (Repr., Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1985), 1:116; Abu'l Fazl, *A'in-i Akbari*, trans. C. M. Naim, in Pramod Chandra, *The Tūtīnāma* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1976), 182.

27 — For the most recent scholarship on the Gulshan Album, see Milo Cleveland Beach, "Jahangir's Album: Some Clarifications," in *Arts of Mughal India: Studies in Honour of Robert Skelton*, ed. Rosemary Crill, Susan Stronge, and Andrew Topsfield (London: Victoria & Albert Museum; Ahmedabad: Mapin Publishing, 2004), 111–18; Milo Cleveland Beach, "*Muraqqa'-i Gulshan*: The Inscriptions," in *No Tapping Around Philology: A Festschrift in Honor of Wheeler McIntosh Thackston Jr.'s 70th Birthday*, ed. Alireza Korangy and Daniel J. Sheffield (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014), 437–46; *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982–), s.v. "Golšan Album," by Kambiz Eslami, online at www.iranicaonline.org; Susan Stronge, "The Gulshan Album, c. 1600–18," in Elaine Wright et al., *Muraqqa': Imperial Mughal Albums from the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin* (Alexandria, VA: Arts Services International, 2008), 76–81.

28 — See, e.g., Eslami, "Golšan Album."

29 — The international project, begun in 2000, is jointly sponsored by the Golestan Palace Library, Tehran, and the Freer and Sackler Galleries, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

30 — The Shah Jahan Album, also known as the Kevorkian Album, was the subject of a major Metropolitan Museum of Art exhibition and catalogue. For the latter, see Stuart Cary Welch, Annemarie Schimmel, Marie L. Swietochowski, and Wheeler M. Thackston, *The Emperors' Album: Images of Mughal India* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987).

31 — Linda York Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings from the Chester Beatty Library*, 2 vols. (London: Scorpion Cavendish, 1995), 1:372; Marie L. Swietochowski, "Decorative Borders in Mughal Albums," in Welch

et al., *Emperors' Album*, 52. For the most recent scholarship on the Minto and Wantage Albums, see Susan Stronge, "The Minto Album and Its Decoration, c. 1612–40," in Wright et al., *Muraqqa'*, 82–105.

32 — These include illustrations from manuscripts of the *Chandayana* (story of Chanda) , a Persian-language romance penned in the fourteenth century, and the *Bhagavata Purana* (Life of Krishna), both of which were produced in multiple copies in sixteenth-century northern and central India. It is particularly curious that these images are absent from Mughal albums, as many of the members of Akbar's painting workshop were very likely trained in or, at the very least, familiar with those illustrative styles.

33 — On the cosmopolitan dimensions of Mughal albums, see Ebba Koch, "The Mughal Emperor as Solomon, Majnun, and Orpheus, or the Album as a Think Tank for Allegory," *Muqarnas* 27 (2010): 277–311; Sumathi Ramaswamy, "Going Global in Mughal India," online at https://sites.duke.edu/globalinmughalindia/.

34 — See Rice, "Brush and Burin," 305–10.

35 — This "fresh" Mughal poetry of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century demonstrated a thorough knowledge of its literary forebears and emphasized verbal ingenuity and newness of expression, a shift that Rajeev Kinra has associated with a broader, Indic (and perhaps global) preoccupation with historicality and renewal. See Rajeev Kinra, "Fresh Words for a Fresh World: *Tāza-Gū'ī* and the Poetics of Newness in Early Modern Indo-Persian Poetry," *Sikh Formations: Religion, Culture, Theory* 3 (2007): 125–49.

36 — Details from this album page were first published in Ernst Kühnel and Hermann Goetz, *Indian Book Painting from Jahāngir's Album in the State Library in Berlin* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1926), plates 36, 37. For a recent discussion of the album page in the context of Jahangir's residency in Gujarat in 1618, see Susan Stronge, "Jahangir's Itinerant Masters," in *Indian Painting: Themes, History and Interpretations*, ed. Sharma and Kaimal, 125–35.

37 — Rao Bhara and Jassa Jam also appear in a contemporaneous double portrait painting attributed to the court artist Bishandas, in London, Victoria and Albert Museum, IM.124-1921. The painting is discussed in Rosemary Crill and Kapi Jariwala, eds., *The Indian Portrait, 1560–1860* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2010), 88–89, cat. 20.

38 — For Manohar, see Terence McInerney, "Manohar," in *Master Artists*, ed. Pal, 53–68; John Seyller, "Manohar," in *Masters of Indian Painting*, ed. Beach, Fischer, and Goswamy, 135–52. For Govardhan, see Milo C. Beach, "Govardhan: Servant of Jahangir," in *Muhgal Masters: Further Studies*, ed. Das, 138–45; John Seyller, "Govardhan," in *Masters of Indian Painting,* 2 vols., ed. Beach, Fischer, and Goswamy, 357–74. For studies of Abu'l Hasan, see note 13 above.

39 — Indeed, Stronge, "Jahangir's Itinerant Masters," 132, tentatively identifies the figure at top right as Jahangir. If she is correct, the portrait is a rare depiction of the emperor with a full beard.

40 — Stronge, *Painting for the Mughal Emperor*, 132–33, plate 95.

41 — Welch et al., *Emperors' Album*, 148–49.

42 — Ibid.

43 — The Late Shah Jahan Album page with Bhim Kunwar is discussed by the present author in Laura Weinstein et al., *Ink, Silk and Gold: Islamic Art from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston: MFA Publications, 2015), 134–35. For the most recent scholarship on the Late Shah Jahan Album, see Susan Stronge, "The Late Shah Jahan Album, c. 1650–1658," in Wright et al., *Muraqqa'*, 106–39.

44 — Among those who were compiling albums in Awadh and Bengal during the eighteenth century were Europeans like the French East India Company officer Jean-Baptiste Gentil (1726–1799). On one of Gentil's Indian albums, produced in Faizabad in 1774, see Chanchal Dadlani, "Transporting India: The *Gentil Album* and Mughal Manuscript Culture," *Art History* 38, no. 4 (2015): 748–61.

45 — Ebba Koch, "The 'Moghuleries' of the Millionenzimmer, Schönbrunn Palace, Vienna," in *Arts of Mughal India*, ed. Crill, Stronge, and Topsfield, 152–67. A detail of the European painter's adaptation of the Mughal painting of the four sheikhs is reproduced as fig. 14.